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LETTER IX.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

On the political Effects Produced in America by the Peace of Ghent.

Botley, 29th May, 1815.

MY LORD—It was frequently observed by me, in former letters, which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, during the war with America, that, if you were, at last, as I foretold you would be, compelled to make peace without *humbling* America, and, indeed, without *subduing* her, or nearly subduing her, the result would be honourable to her, seeing that she would, in a war single-handed against England, have succeeded in *defending* herself. It was clear, that, when once the contest became a *single combat*, to *defend* herself must be to her *triumph* and to us *defeat*. And, if she came out of the war without any, even the smallest concession, her triumph over us must raise her greatly in the estimation of her own people and of all the world. She *did* come out of the war in this way; and the natural consequences have followed.

I do not know, that I have before noticed the fact in print, but it is now time that I should; I mean the curious fact relative to the *proclamation of peace* with America. We know that peace with any power is usually proclaimed by *HERALDS*, who, starting at St. James's Palace, go into the City, with a grand display of armorial ensigns, and accompanied by troops in gay attire, and by bands of martial music, stopping, from time to time, to read the King's proclamation of the peace. This was done at the *Peace of Amiens* and at the *Peace of Paris*. Indeed, it is the *usual* way in which the cessation of war is proclaimed.

Now, then, how was the peace with America proclaimed? There was no procession at all: there was nothing of the usual ceremony. But, the *COURIER* newspaper, and, I believe, that paper only, informed the public, that "*peace with America was proclaimed to-day, by*

reading the Proclamation, in the USU-AL WAY, at the door of the office at Whitehall." This was all, and, I will be bound, that even the people passing in the street did not know what it was that was reading. This is what the *COURIER* calls the *usual* way of proclaiming peace! There was no illuminations; no firing of guns; no ringing of bells; no demonstrations of joy. In short, the country, which had been so eager for the war, and so unanimous for its prosecution, seemed not at all to regret, that it never knew the exact period when peace returned. It felt ashamed of the result of the war, and was glad to be told nothing at all about it.

But, *in America!* There the full force of public feeling was made manifest.—The country resounded from New Orleans to the utmost borders of the Lakes; from the orange groves to the wheat lands, buried four feet deep in snow, was heard the voice of joy, the boast of success, the shout of victory. I, who had always felt anxious for the freedom of America; I, whose predictions have been so completely fulfilled in the result of this contest; even I cannot keep down all feeling of mortification at these demonstrations of triumph, related in the American prints now before me. Even in me, the Englishman so far gets the better of all other feelings and consideration. What, then, must be the feelings of those, my Lord, who urged on and who prosecuted that fatal war?

An American paper now before me, the Boston "*Yankee*," of the 9th of December last, gives an account, copied from our London papers, of our *Jubilee* last summer, when "*old BLUCHER*" was so squeezed and hugged, and had his jaws so nastily licked over by the filthy women, who were called "*Ladies*." This *Yankee* calls it "*John Bull's great National Jubilee*;" and, I assure you, the famous victory gained by the naval force of England over the American fleet on the *Serpentine River* is not forgotten! But, the editor of the *Yankee* has made a mistake. He thought it was the *Thames* on

which that memorable battle was fought. Not so, good Mr. Yankee. The *Serpentine River*, as it is called, is a little winding lake in Hyde Park, about the width of a large duck pond, and is fed by a little stream, or rather gutter, and empties itself by the means of another gutter at the other end. It was this quality of lake that made the scene so very apt.

These are mortifying recollections, my Lord, and I do not know that they will be rendered less so to you by the addition of the reflection, that, if you had followed my advice, there never would have been any ground for them.

The political effects in America of such a peace must be wonderful. Indeed, they evidently are so. The men who, in the New England States, were forming open combinations against Mr. Madison, are, as I told you they would be, covered with that sort of disgrace, that deep disgrace, which defeated malice always brings upon its head. They appear, from all I can gather, to have become the butt of ridicule, after having long been the object of serious censure. These men are suspected of treasonable views and acts. At any rate, they are chargeable with a *real attempt* to destroy the liberties of their country, in revenge for their rejection by the people. They were defeated in their grasp at the supreme powers of the union, and they have endeavoured to do as the baboon is said to have done with the fair lady, that is, destroy that which they could not possess.

Mr. PICKERING, to whom the *Times* newspaper looked up as the "*hangman and successor of Mr. Madison*," now talks like a very hearty republican; but the poor gentleman seems to know very little of what is going on here. He says, that you made peace, because so many petitions were poured in against continuing the war; and your Lordship knows, that not one such petition was poured in. He says, that the failure at New Orleans will put you out of place. Poor Gentleman! how little, how very little does he know about you! He says, that the Opposition have clamoured for peace. It was the Opposition who urged on the war, and only found fault with you for not doing the Yankees more mischief than you did. Yet this, this is one of the men, to whom we have looked as capable of overthrowing Mr. Madison! This is one of the men who

was to "*re-unite the colonies to the parent state!*"

It is very true, I acknowledge, that a dangerous faction has arisen in the Republic. I see very clearly, that wealth has introduced a taste for what are called honours. Vanity is making a desperate effort to decorate men with titles. The law forbids it; but vanity is at open war with law. The germ of aristocracy, which was discovered in the New England states, and, in a few instances, in some of the others, at the end of the war of independence, has grown out now to full view. There are '*Squires and Honourables* in abundance. There are the "*Honourable the Governor*;" "*His Honour the Judge*;" and so on. These men will soon begin to regret that they have no one to give them permanent titles; that they have no "*fountain of honour*." That which men regret the want of they endeavour to obtain, whenever an occasion offers. The Priests of New England appear to be working hard to procure something in the way of an establishment. Hence the joy of both these at the restoration of the Bourbons, the old French Noblesse, the Pope, and the Jesuits; and hence, they will, I venture to predict, be as abusive of Napoleon, Carnot, Fouché, Roderer, and Merlin, as is our *Times* newspaper.

In the mean while, however, the people are sound republicans; and, it will take some years to overset their government, though the manners and tastes of many may be corrupted. The following letters which I have received from America, will shew you, that the war, and especially the peace, have produced a great change in that country. They will also shew you that, long ago, I had hit upon the true nail, and that you ought to have paid attention to me sooner than you did. The newspapers from America breathe a spirit of resentment, which it should be our object to allay, if possible; but, really, the language of our prostituted press was such, that, added to the "*character of the war*," it is almost impossible, that reconciliation should take place during an age to come.

Before I conclude, I beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the statements in the American papers, relative to our treatment of the American prisoners of war; also to call your attention to certain intercepted letters of our officers, re-



lative to *plunder*; and further to call your attention to their charges relative to the *parole*, given by GENERAL PACKENHAM, when he was about to assault, and to take, as he expected, NEW ORLEANS. I dare not *copy these*. Newgate is not so pleasant as Botley. But, still I do most anxiously wish to see these papers published here; because they might then be met by denial and disproof, if *not true*. This is a serious matter, my Lord. If we dare not publish *here*, they dare do it in America; and there it is that the effect will be produced injurious to us. I dare say, that long before this will reach the press, *all these changes, all these horrid narratives, will have been collected in America, published in a permanent shape, and, perhaps, translated into French*. Thus will they be read by all the civilized world, the people of England excepted; but, thus have I done my duty in pointing these things out to your Lordship, which is all that I dare do in this case.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Boston, 28th March, 1815.

MR. COBBETT—I have read, with great satisfaction, your recent essays relative to this country. You deserve well of your native country, as well as of mine, for trying to open the eyes of your countrymen, that they might see things as they really are. But in Old England and in New, and I am personally acquainted with both, a man need not despair making the people believe any thing but truth.

Both your country and mine have been long suffering under the cause of "*a lying spirit*." The federal papers in Boston, under the direction of the faction, and especially the one edited by "*the Boston Slave*," exert all their powers to spread a delusive fog before the eyes of their stupid readers, and between them and truth. They are worse than your *Courier*, or your *Times*; for with their lies, they have a trait of malignity and stupidity, at which your people must revolt. What must be the state of a community where the people are fed with poisonous food? It would require a revolution of some sort to rid the people of the accumulated corruption. Our Yeomanry are virtuous, brave, and strongly attached to their government; but we have scores of professional men among us, who, with less

learning, and abilities than *Southey*, would damn their country for his salary and a butt of sack.

Your late essays are re-published in all the Republican Papers, and read with great relish; while they are carefully excluded from all the federal papers. Nevertheless I suspect that you do not see many of our Boston Republican Papers. I have therefore requested, the Editors of the *Boston Patriot*, and *Yankee* to put up a series of them for you; and encouraged them with the hope that you will send them your Register. I have also sent you an excellent work by Mr. CAREY, entitled the "*Olive Branch*." We esteem it highly for its *facts*. You will read it with pleasure. This book and Jackson's victory have blasted the *Hartford Convention*; and destroyed the high hopes of the *Pickering*s, the *Otisses*, and the *Sullivan*s. The author of that book has a just idea of our Boston *Saints*, of their avarice, of their hypocrisy, and of their thirst after ridiculous titles, and even monarchy.—He has a right idea of our *Junto*, which rises as our country sinks, and sinks as our country rises. After perusing the *Olive Branch*, would it not be well to throw it in the way of the *Edinburgh Reviewers*? (1)

(1) I can find a much better use for it, as the writer shall see. The *Edinburgh Reviewers* are, perhaps, as corrupt a *junto* as the *Hartford Convention*, and of that my correspondent would be well convinced, if he were to read an article upon the *return of Napoleon*, published at the close of the last number of this work; in which article they prepared, in advance, for the war, which they suspected would take place against France, in consequence of that wonderful event. The truth is, that this is a little knot of place-hunting men of talent, who, by the means of this Review, force themselves successively into the receipt of emoluments derived from the public. I do not know any set of men so much like another, as these Reviewers are like the Federal Noblesse. Mr. WALSH, of Philadelphia, who wrote a book on the state of France, full of falsehoods and of ignorance, and who, it was confidently reported here, was to have had the honour of being introduced to a Lord, and would, in all probability, have enjoyed that blessing, if the said Lord had not been unexpectedly engaged with his tailor, or somebody else: this Mr. WALSH, with the exception of talent, is a tolerably good specimen of an *Edinburgh reviewer*.

WM. COBBETT.

I have read with surprise and disgust the official accounts of General Drummond and some others, of the battle of Chippewa and Bridewater. I have been informed by the brave and modest Colonel (now General) Miller, as well as by a number of his officers, his non-commissioned officers, and privates, that the British cannon were *many hours* in their possession, and that they would have brought them off, had not the British taken the precaution to carry off the limbers, and all the harness, which Miller could not supply in the night. I firmly believe that all our official accounts may be relied on. I have reason for believing it.

Jackson's *wonderful* victory is a greater thing to us, that is, of more beneficial consequences to America, than the victory of Wolfe; the capture of Burgoine, or Cornwallis. The British were *sure* of New Orleans, and they meant to leave it *an ugly bone of contention* between the U. S. and Spain. But Providence forbade it. We say *Providence*, for the great *destruction* on one side, and the unparalleled *salvation* on the other, prove that it could hardly be owing to the contingent powers of men. It gives strength to the opinion imbibed by people in every period of the world, and in every stage of society, that there is a power above us, which "shapes things to an end, rough hew them how we will." This extraordinary victory has broken down the spirits of the invaders; they say there is a fatality in this American war; and that it is adverse to them. Your countrymen fought bravely at New Orleans, *very bravely*. Jackson, and his inspired militia had coolness enough, in the midst of the fight, to observe and admire the discipline and steady bravery of the English, and the valour of their officers; but who could stand before our cool and accurate riflemen, and equally cool and accurate cannoniers!! Jackson, (a *village-lawyer*) has far surpassed any General we ever had, at any period.

While we admire Jackson, and his militia, let us not withhold our admiration of *James Madison*! who amidst the most virulent, and most obstinate of oppositions (see "the Olive Branch,"), has triumphed over both internal and external enemies, and planted the proud stripes and stars of his nation in the sight of the universe.

Considering the New England opposition and the nature of our government, and the state of our finances, and the villiany of the faction, and this Virginia-man, may well be called the *Matchless Madison*.

Although we are priest-ridden, and debased in Massachusetts, I hope we are not sunk below redemption. The better half of Massachusetts have not bowed the knee to the effigy of monarchy, set up by the contemptible *noblesse* of Boston. It is the yeomanry, the *nerve*, the *bone*, and the *sineze* of the republic, who have fought our battles, while it is the pampered, and corrupted flesh, and gormandizing stomach, who preach, pray, and write in federal newspapers, and who continually deceive the people.

After the present delusion is past, I hope to see both your country and mine shine forth in their native purity. Our country is rising rapidly to greatness, and to glory; and when we have put down *faction*, we shall yet see our species, the descendants of Englishmen, shine forth to the greatest advantage, in ability, courage, and integrity; and here we may see displayed the utmost range of the human powers.

Thirty years ago, I knew London, and her leading men, including Mr. Fox, and some others. They are now nearly all dead; and I have scarcely a correspondent left. I wish Old England well; for there are the sepulchres of my ancestors; and there I resided several years. I have a considerable respect for *John Bull*; but a greater affection for,

JONATHAN,

For he is destined to return the tide of glory to the source whence it sprung.

Boston, March 30th, 1813.

MR. COBBETT.—A snow-storm having prevented the ship *Galen* from sailing this morning, I seize the opportunity her detention affords, to add a few strips from some of our late newspapers. I do it by way of recompensing you for your excellent essays, under the form of letters to your great men in England, in which you tell them important truths relative to this country, which, I believe, they can obtain through no other channel.

We admire greatly your accurate picture of the two parties in this bewitched state. What the witches promised *Macbeth*, has been whispered to our little-big-

men in Massachusetts "*ye shall be all
Thames!!*"

The public feeling is not a little excited by the recital of our officers and men, who have just returned to Boston and New York, from their captivity in Nova Scotia, and Canada. You will see the narrative in the *Boston Patriot* of yesterday. The British prisoners have been uniformly treated with kindness by the Americans. Humanity is a conspicuous trait in our character.

We look up to the acute editor of the *Political Register* to lay this grievous thing properly before the British public. If what is related be not facts, let them be contradicted; and, if they be true, let the perpetrators be exposed, and the robes of the nation wiped clean from the stain (2).

[I leave out a passage here, which though complimentary to the part of this kingdom, in which I was born, is rather too GENERAL in its application. But, my chief reason for leaving it out is, that it would, in my opinion, TEND TO DO HARM.—W. C.]

Colonel SCOTT, (now our valiant *General Scott*) was early in the war carried prisoner to Montreal and Quebec; and received a treatment, which he never can, or ought to forget. I had it from his own mouth. Scott is a man of talents, education and a gentleman; but those high officers in Canada, who heaped every kindness and attention on the infamous HULL, could not find it in their hearts to treat with ordinary attention and humanity the accomplished Scott.

As nations, we may be at peace; but as a people we never shall, so long as we remember personal insults and cruel deprivations, especially during sickness. Your ships of war have generally treated our sailors whom they captured, well; but it is the treatment on board prison-ships, and in Canada of which our men com-

plain, and at the thoughts of which they regret the termination of war.

We are much pleased with your very accurate account of *Federalists* and *Republicans*. The papers you now receive will help you to finish the picture you have sketched.

This short war has wrought a wonderful change in the United States. It has taught the traders and shopkeepers of Boston, that if their sea-ports were destroyed, the nation even then, could exist. It has peopled our interior, created innumerable manufactures, and taught us all that it is to the *yeomanry* we must look, at last, for the support and defence of the nation. With them is the brain, the nerve, the bone and sinew; for the merchant is blown about by every wind of commerce. He scarcely feels that he has got a country. The French justly estimate these descendants of Esau.

The time was, when these colonies, or states, might, in their physical and mental force, be compared to a wedge, (the most forcible of the mechanical powers) the butt, or thick edge of which was here in Massachusetts, and it went tapering away until its thin edge ended in Georgia, and on the Mississippi. But *Andrew Jackson*, a village lawyer, has turned this wedge "end for end," and we now feel the force pressing to us, instead of from us. Mr. MATTHEW CAREY has explained all this in "*the olive branch!!*"

The young and spirited men of Massachusetts feeling the effects of the miserable policy of their governor, and of the Legislature, are fast leaving their homes, and emigrating Westward. Even the sons of some of the *Essex Junto* are following where interest leads. They are flying from the sterile soil, and bigotted region of Boston to more fertile and liberal regions; and yet our besotted government of Massachusetts, and their stupid governor, seem unconscious that we are bleeding to death, by this alarming emigration. Instead of a liberal policy, our miserable politicians are trying to retain their discontented young men by "*Washington Benevolent Societies*; a sort of hypocritical *Jacobin-club*; or humble imitations of the *Orange Societies* of Ireland; who drew their origin from "*the peep-of-day boys*." Jonathan sees through this clumsy trick, and their gorgeous parades, painted banners, and hy-

(2) I have not thought it right, and indeed, I do not know that it would be safe, to send to the press the papers here referred to, which exhibit a picture that strikes one with horror, and which, for the honour of my country and of human nature, I hope is not a true picture.—I have, however, made use of these papers in the way that appears to me most likely to answer a good purpose.

WM. COBBETT.

pocritical orations, prayers, and hymns, which have become objects of ridicule, and are fast sinking into contempt. *Common-sense* begins to draw comparisons between our fine, dancing soldiers, who seldom make an excursion beyond a mile from their fire-sides, and hardly ever march off the pavements of our sea-ports, and the brave heroes, who conquered at Chippewa, Bridgewater, Erie, Baltimore, and NEW ORLEANS.

One great and powerful source of influence, is *literary and clerical patronage*. The Junto have managed that matter admirably. They have contrived to get almost all the learned professions under their thumbs. This has greatly increased their number of slaves. They took the *Jesuits* for their example, and have imitated with considerable success. They, like the *Jesuits*, make sure of every young man of brilliant talents, and fix him in a *pulpit*, or at the bar; or in practice, as a physician, or in their *Benevolent Society*, or by some means or other, impair his independence, and secure his subserviency to their views, which views are to establish AN UPPER CLASS, who shall shine and *think* for all the rest. These are the *glow-worms*, or *fire-flies*, or *lightening bugs*, that give you and me so much amusement and food for ridicule. These buzz and flutter around the nose of honest *Jonathan*, while he is cultivating the ground, shooting invaders, and pouring a stream of republicanism on the wheels of the national governments, which these base creatures are trying to clog (3).

(3) My Correspondent will smile, when he sees, that I had anticipated this trick of *literary enlistments* and *benevolent societies*.—If he will look into the Register of the 13th of this month, at page 591, he will find, under the head of "*Literary Fund* and "*Washington Benevolent Societies*," that I had hit the case in the eye before I received his letter.—As to the *Clergy*, the case is more serious.—As long as men continue to die, there will, in all probability, be some who will be willing to pay people to instruct them as to a future life; and, as long as men prefer eating the earnings of others to eating their own earnings, such instructors will never be wanting. Besides, I find no fault with one party or the other, both may be perfectly sincere; and both right in their opinions and views. All that I blame in matters of religion, is, the use of force of any kind. There

You may tell Sir Joseph Yorke, whose father I once knew, that Mr. Madison, has concluded (before he "goes to the *Island of ELBA*,"") to pay a visit to the Eastern States, in which case, it is more than probable that the Saints of Massachusetts will pay him all possible marks

is no established church in America; no compulsion to pay priests of any sort. But, if men are persecuted, no matter in what way, for their opinions about religion; if a book, or an essay, is to be condemned in a lump, on the charge of being *blasphemous*, without any reference to its facts or its reasonings; if this be the case, *priestcraft*, say what you will, is still powerful in America. The way, and the only way, to give priestcraft its final blow, is to inculcate, in all possible ways, the *liberty of opinions* on religion. The law of America does this; but the friends of freedom should jealously watch, that *cant* does not, in this respect, triumph over the law. Can any man say, in the face of the world, that TRUTH ought not to prevail? No man will say this. And if the religious opinions of any sect be founded in truth, what fear is there that they will be injured by *unreserved discussion*? Did it ever happen to any individual to protest against the discussing of a question, as to which he was sure that he was in the right?—Let the honest man; let the sincere Christian, be upon his guard against every one, whom he hears abuse any book as *blasphemous*, without first showing it to be false. Let him be upon his guard against the *Crafty Crew* (in America, I mean), who eat and drink comfortably upon the fruits of other men's labours; or, if he does think it right to pay them as *teachers of religion*, let him, at any rate, call upon them to ANSWER, instead of ABUSING, those who attack their systems. As to the conduct of the *Federal priesthood of Massachusetts*, it is such as defies all description. Such a prostitution of the priests' office never was before seen, except amongst some of the most wicked of the regular clergy of the Romish church, in the very worst times of that church. A string of passages, which Mr. CAREY has collected and published in the "*Olive Branch*," would not have disgraced the lips of those, whose exhortations armed the hands and hardened the hearts of *Clement*, *Ravillac*, or any of that numerous horde of assassins, who have, at various periods, undertaken to shed the blood of Napoleon. Can those be virtuous men, who, with patience, and even with applause, listened to these bloody exhortations?—I put this question to the bosoms of the worthy part of the Federalists.—WM. COBBETT.

of homage and respect; for the Presbyterians of New England are very like the Presbyterians of Scotland, who are all things to all men, just as it suits their whim, or interest. In the newspapers of this day, you will see some traits of the genuine character of your friend,

JONATHAN.

Boston, 4th April, 1815.

MR. COBBETT,—The following instance of unfair conduct is worthy your attention. The frigate *President*, Captain Decatur, after running a-ground, and, in consequence of it, losing her trim, fell in with Admiral Hotham's detachment, who chased her. The *Endymion* (the same that suffered so severely from the *Neufchatel* privateer) was nearest to her in the chase. This ship the *President* silenced, and would certainly have taken her, had not the *Pomone* come to her assistance, and soon after that the *Tenadas*, and an armed brig, and a rasee 74, but a little way astern of them. In this situation, Decatur, after doing all that any man in his situation could do, struck his colours, and delivered his sword to the commander of the 74.

Admiral Hotham says officially, that the *President* was captured by a detachment of his fleet; and when Decatur arrived in New London, the populace took the horses from his coach, and dragged him in triumph through the streets, and the applause was universal.

But what have the officers of the *Endymion* done? They give out that the *President* was taken by the *Endymion*; and this frigate has lately sailed from Bermuda for England with the *President* as HER PRIZE, having the English colours hoisted over the American flag, signifying to all they meet—"We of the *Endymion* ALONE took the American frigate *President*." This deserves to be gazetted throughout Europe, as it will be throughout America. Such miserable tricks are unworthy the people whence we sprang. It is furnishing Johnny Bull with a cork jacket at the expence of honour. If he cannot hold his head up above the waves, without such a dishonourable apparatus, let him sink.—"FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM."

JONATHAN.

P. S. By the return of votes yesterday, we find that the federal party have lost ground since the last April, to a degree

that must excite their alarm, if not despair. In spite of their "*benevolent societies*," they are going down the stream and over the dam.

By consulting the Boston papers of last Autumn, you will find that the *volunteer services*, in the defence of Boston and the sea coast, far exceeded those of Philadelphia, and were only surpassed by New York. The Federalists were as eager as the Republicans "*to meet the enemy at the water's edge*." The only contest would have been, *who shall close with the enemy first?* Lord Liverpool's *ignorance* of the individual *feeling* proves him not fit for his station (4).

(4) No; but, it proves, that he never heard the truth, any more than his predecessors had done before him. I told it him; but I was not in the pay of government. It is the *interest* of those who supply our government with intelligence from America to deceive the ministers. Good news is pleasanter than bad; and, since conclusions drawn in favour of the effects of the principles of freedom, have been looked upon as a proof of *Jacobinism* in the party drawing such conclusions, persons under the government cannot be expected to be very forward in performing such an office. The evil, however, is very great. I verily believe, that PERCEVAL entered on the war, and that it was afterwards continued, under the impression, that the States were ready to *divide*, and that a part of them was anxious to join this country against the Federal Government. That such was the general belief in this country is notorious. Nay, nine-tenths even of the readers of the Register believed it. The mischievous falsehood had its rise in the disappointment and malice of the Massachusetts Noblesse, who are, by both countries, to be fairly charged with being the chief cause of the war. This nest of vipers cannot be too soon crushed. The people of America must clap their foot upon it, or the brood will, some time or other, sting them to death. This is a race of reptiles not to be trifled with. As America grows rich this race will raise their heads, unless they be extirpated. The little beginnings ought to be watched with infinite care. "The *Honourable Gentleman*," and "my *Honourable Friend*," are appellations of more practical consequence than the Americans seem to be aware of. I see with pleasure, that the *President* keeps to his good plain address of "*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives*." When the French Assembly

pocritical orations, prayers, and hymns, which have become objects of ridicule, and are fast sinking into contempt. *Common-sense* begins to draw comparisons between our fine, dancing soldiers, who seldom make an excursion beyond a mile from their fire-sides, and hardly ever march off the pavements of our sea-ports, and the brave heroes, who conquered at Chippewa, Bridgewater, Erie, Baltimore, and NEW ORLEANS.

One great and powerful source of influence, is *literary and clerical patronage*. The Junto have managed that matter admirably. They have contrived to get almost all the learned professions under their thumbs. This has greatly increased their number of slaves. They took the *Jesuits* for their example, and have imitated with considerable success. They, like the *Jesuits*, make sure of every young man of brilliant talents, and fix him in a *pulpit*, or at the bar; or in practice, as a physician; or in their *Benevolent Society*, or by some means or other, impair his independence, and secure his subserviency to their views, which views are to establish AN UPPER CLASS, who shall shine and think for all the rest. These are the *glow-worms*, or *fire-flies*, or *lightening bugs*, that give you and me so much amusement and food for ridicule. These buzz and flutter around the nose of honest *Jonathan*, while he is cultivating the ground, shooting invaders, and pouring a stream of republicanism on the wheels of the national governments, which these base creatures are trying to clog (3).

(3) My Correspondent will smile, when he sees, that I had anticipated this trick of *literary enlistments* and *benevolent societies*.—If he will look into the Register of the 13th of this month, at page 591, he will find, under the head of "*Literary Fund* and "*Washington Benevolent Societies*," that I had hit the case in the eye before I received his letter.—As to the *Clergy*, the case is more serious.—As long as men continue to die, there will, in all probability, be some who will be willing to pay people to instruct them as to a future life; and, as long as men prefer eating the earnings of others to eating their own earnings, such instructors will never be wanting. Besides, I find no fault with one party or the other, both may be perfectly sincere; and both right in their opinions and views. All that I blame in matters of religion, is, the use of force of any kind. There

You may tell Sir Joseph Yorke, whose father I once knew, that Mr. Madison, has concluded (before he "goes to the *Island of ELBA*,") to pay a visit to the Eastern States, in which case, it is more than probable that the Saints of Massachusetts will pay him all possible marks

is no established church in America; no compulsion to pay priests of any sort. But, if men are persecuted, no matter in what way, for their opinions about religion; if a book, or an essay, is to be condemned in a lump, on the charge of being *blasphemous*, without any reference to its facts or its reasonings; if this be the case, *priestcraft*, say what you will, is still powerful in America. The way, and the only way, to give priestcraft its final blow, is to inculcate, in all possible ways, the *liberty of opinions* on religion. The law of America does this; but the friends of freedom should jealously watch, that *cant* does not, in this respect, triumph over the law. Can any man say, in the face of the world, that TRUTH ought not to prevail? No man will say this. And if the religious opinions of any sect be founded in truth, what fear is there that they will be injured by *unreserved discussion*? Did it ever happen to any individual to protest against the discussing of a question, as to which he was sure that he was in the right?—Let the honest man; let the sincere Christian, be upon his guard against everyone, whom he hears abuse any book as *blasphemous*, without first showing it to be false. Let him be upon his guard against the *Crafty Crew* (in America, I mean), who eat and drink comfortably upon the fruits of other men's labours; or, if he does think it right to pay them as teachers of religion, let him, at any rate, call upon them to ANSWER, instead of ABUSING, those who attack their systems. As to the conduct of the *Federal priesthood of Massachusetts*, it is such as defies all description. Such a prostitution of the priests' office never was before seen, except amongst some of the most wicked of the regular clergy of the Romish church, in the very worst times of that church. A string of passages, which Mr. CAREY has collected and published in the "*Olive Branch*," would not have disgraced the lips of those, whose exhortations armed the hands and hardened the hearts of *Clement*, *Ravillac*, or any of that numerous horde of assassins, who have, at various periods, undertaken to shed the blood of Napoleon. Can those be virtuous men, who, with patience, and even with applause, listened to these bloody exhortations?—I put this question to the bosoms of the worthy part of the Federalists.—WM. COBBETT.

of homage and respect; for the Presbyterians of New England are very like the Presbyterians of Scotland, who are all things to all men, just as it suits their whim, or interest. In the newspapers of this day, you will see some traits of the genuine character of your friend,

JONATHAN.

Boston, 4th April, 1815.

MR. COBBETT,—The following instance of unfair conduct is worthy your attention. The frigate *President*, Captain Decatur, after running a-ground, and, in consequence of it, losing her trim, fell in with Admiral Hotham's detachment, who chased her. The *Endymion* (the same that suffered so severely from the *Neufchatel* privateer) was nearest to her in the chase. This ship the *President* silenced, and would certainly have taken her, had not the *Pomone* come to her assistance, and soon after that the *Tenados*, and an armed brig, and a rasee 74, but a little way astern of them. In this situation, Decatur, after doing all that any man in his situation could do, struck his colours, and delivered his sword to the commander of the 74.

Admiral Hotham says officially, that the *President* was captured by a detachment of his fleet; and when Decatur arrived in New London, the populace took the horses from his coach, and dragged him in triumph through the streets, and the applause was universal.

But what have the officers of the *Endymion* done? They give out that the *President* was taken by the *Endymion*; and this frigate has lately sailed from Bermuda for England with the *President* as HER PRIZE, having the English colours hoisted over the American flag, signifying to all they meet—"We of the *Endymion* ALONE took the American frigate *President*." This deserves to be gazetted throughout Europe, as it will be throughout America. Such miserable tricks are unworthy the people whence we sprang. It is furnishing Johnny Bull with a cork jacket at the expence of honour. If he cannot hold his head up above the waves, without such a dishonourable apparatus, let him sink.—"FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM."

JONATHAN.

P.S. By the return of votes yesterday, we find that the federal party have lost ground since the last April, to a degree

that must excite their alarm, if not despair. In spite of their "*benevolent societies*," they are going down the stream and over the dam.

By consulting the Boston papers of last Autumn, you will find that the *volunteer services*, in the defence of Boston and the sea coast, far exceeded those of Philadelphia, and were only surpassed by New York. The Federalists were as eager as the Republicans "*to meet the enemy at the water's edge*." The only contest would have been, *who shall close with the enemy first?* Lord Liverpool's ignorance of the individual feeling proves him not fit for his station (4).

(4) No; but, it proves, that he never heard the truth, any more than his predecessors had done before him. I told it him; but I was not in the pay of government. It is the interest of those who supply our government with intelligence from America to deceive the ministers. Good news is pleasanter than bad; and, since conclusions drawn in favour of the effects of the principles of freedom, have been looked upon as a proof of Jacobinism in the party drawing such conclusions, persons under the government cannot be expected to be very forward in performing such an office. The evil, however, is very great. I verily believe, that PERCEVAL entered on the war, and that it was afterwards continued, under the impression, that the States were ready to divide, and that a part of them was anxious to join this country against the Federal Government. That such was the general belief in this country is notorious. Nay, nine-tenths even of the readers of the Register believed it. The mischievous falsehood had its rise in the disappointment and malice of the Massachusetts Noblesse, who are, by both countries, to be fairly charged with being the chief cause of the war. This nest of vipers cannot be too soon crushed. The people of America must clap their foot upon it, or the brood will, some time or other, sting them to death. This is a race of reptiles not to be trifled with. As America grows rich this race will raise their heads, unless they be extirpated. The little beginnings ought to be watched with infinite care. "The Honourable Gentleman," and "my Honourable Friend," are appellations of more practical consequence than the Americans seem to be aware of. I see with pleasure, that the *President* keeps to his good plain address of "*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives*." When the French Assembly

TO CORRESPONDENTS,
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 30th May, 1815.

In my last Number, dated May 27th, 1815, I pointed out very fully how persons in America might *write* to me, or send papers, or pamphlets to me.—I shall be obliged to the American Printers of newspapers to give insertion to that notification, as it may lead to a communication equally beneficial to both countries.—I have, in the article just mentioned, acknowledged my obligations to Mr. CAREY for his "*CALM ADDRESS*." I have now to thank a Friend at Boston for a copy of "*the Olive Branch*" by the same author; a work which deserves all the praise and all the success that it has met with.—I have also received newspapers from Boston, and will use my best endeavours to repay these acts of civility in kind.—I perceive that a letter which I wrote in December, or November last, addressed "*to a Correspondent in America*," containing a comparative view of the Taxes, Debt, &c. of England and America, has been republished there.—I should be obliged to any one who would take the trouble to give *me* information about America on all the heads that I have there touched on with regard to England.—The best way would be to do this *in print* in some American newspaper, in a letter addressed to me, with the writer's real name at the bottom. Men are more careful about *facts* when they publish in the face of those amongst whom they live, and are to live, and when they sign with their names that which they publish.—In any thing *intended for re-publication here*, the writer must remember what sort of *libel-laws* we live under. He must abstain from much that he might be disposed to say. My letter, last-mentioned, may serve him as a model. He will there see a notable specimen of the spirits' sacrificing to the safety of the flesh.—And, after all, it is not to

abolished titles, we laughed at their attachment to forms; but, in fact, they were *substances*.—The war, now about to be entered on, will, perhaps, bring them back again to the spot whence they started. At any rate, if America wishes to continue a Republic, she must *resolutely* set her face against these *nick-names*.

WM. COBBETT.

words, it is not to *hard names*; it is to *thumping facts* clearly stated, and to *sound argument* closely packed and strongly pressed upon the mind, that we must look for the producing of conviction. But, principally *facts* are the things. "*Bricks! mortar!*" I hear the fellow cry, when they are building houses. So, when men read, they keep crying out for facts.—If any new writer should be disposed to give me the information I seek, I cannot tell him what sort of style I like in any way so well as by telling him, that it is precisely the opposite of that of a letter, which I see in the Boston *Yankee* of the 6th Jan. 1815, signed "*JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke*," the feelings arising from the reading of which really resemble those which would succeed the swallowing of a quid of the tobacco grown on the borders of that delightful river. If this gentleman be not deemed insane, it must be allowed, I think, that his letter is a practical proof, that sanity may, at times, perform the functions of madness.—I shall send, in a few days, or, rather, cause to be sent, a copy of a small work, lately published here, by MR. MORRIS BIRKBECK, *on the internal state of France*. As MR. CAREY, or some one else, in America, may *republish this work*, a work of great consequence to the cause of freedom, it may be useful for such re-publisher to know something of the AUTHOR of the work; because when the work is a statement of facts, and when these rest upon the writers *assertion*, as being the fruit of his *own observation*, the value of the work must depend on the *veracity* and *judgment* of the author. Now, the author of this work is a most respectable man; he is a great farmer, occupying one whole parish and part of another; he is celebrated for his agricultural experience and skill; he was one of the persons whose evidence upon the abstruse subject of the Corn Bill was taken by and printed by order of the Committee of the House of Lords last year; he was chosen as one of the judges at the last prize show of Merino sheep in London.—Perhaps, in all England, there is not a man of fairer reputation; not one man, less to be suspected of straining facts to meet his own prejudices.—I much question if he will be pleased with me for undertaking to *give him a character*. But, though nothing that I can say would have any such effect in *England*, it is different as to *America*.

There he cannot be so well known; and, his book, or, at least, the facts contained in it, being now the property of mankind, it is just that it should go into other countries, accompanied with all that fairly belongs to it.

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER IV.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the Debates relative to the commencement of the War against the French.

Bolley. 1st June, 1815.

MY LORD,—At last, then, you appear to have stricken the first blow; for, we are now told, by the public prints, that our fleets have taken a French frigate in the Mediterranean. But, this is of no consequence as to the grand question. We have long been in a state, which would have justified France in attacking us openly; and, indeed, it has now been officially stated, that we, have for some time past, been *at war*, though to this very day, or, at least, till *yesterday*, French vessels have freely come into our ports, and have landed and sold their goods; and then sailed quietly for France. However, the fact is, that you and your colleagues have now distinctly asserted, that we *are at war*, and have been at war *for some time*.

Here you start, then; and, here I start with you, as I did with your worthy colleague in the American war; that is to say, in that war which, as we are told, was to *depose Mr. MADISON*. I mean to accompany you through this war. I have been hesitating who I should go along with; but, after due consideration, I have preferred your Lordship to every body else; not merely because you were the aptest of all Pitt's disciples; not because you have been the grand actor at the Congress; not because you have, in point of character, more at stake on this war than any other man, excepting only Napoleon; but because the *times are likely to be ticklish*, and because the mere sound of your well-known name is enough to fill any man living with *prudence*, my Lord. Doubtless we shall see times different from these; and I am not at all afraid, that I shall have to address you in those times; but we must, in this world, take things as we find them, and fashion ourselves a little to

what the Whitehall people denominate "*existing circumstances*."

Therefore, my noble companion, before we start upon our journey, it is my intention, in this letter, to *put upon record* the substance of what has now been published to the nation, in the report of the *debates in Parliament*, upon the following subjects: 1st, of the *character of Napoleon*; 2d, of the *French system of Government*; 3rd, of our *present situation with regard to France*; 4th, of the *Pitt System*; 5th, of the *great means of the Allies against France*, including subsidies; 6th, of the *small means of the French to defend themselves*; 7th, *Morality of the subsidies*. Who that sets out on a voyage does not wish to understand something about the road that he has to go? This, however, it is not always in his power to arrive at; but, he must be a fool indeed, if he undertakes (if he can avoid it) a journey without knowing *why* he undertakes it. The *causes* of the two former wars against the French were lost sight of, long before the wars were half over. This was a very great evil. It was not so with the late American war. I myself *took charge* of the cause of that war; and, in spite of all that falsehood and hypocrisy have been able to do, on both sides of the Atlantic, the *cause*, the *character*, the *result*, the *effects*, of that war are all clearly understood. So shall they all, in *this* case, unless I am deprived very speedily of all my bodily or all my mental powers. Give me life and health for only three months longer, and I defy all the ingenuity and all the impudence of all the corrupt hirelings in England (and their number is not small) to cause *ignorance* to prevail in this country as to the *real cause*, or causes, of the war, on which we are about to enter.

From the time of Napoleon's return being announced, our hirelings of the press cried *war!* I cried, *peace! peace!* Between the 11th of March last and the present time, I have published 1st, Two articles at the head of the Register; 2nd, My first Letter to you; 3rd, A Letter to Louis; 4th, My second Letter to you; 5th, A Letter to the Merchants; 6th, A Letter to the excellent people of Nottingham; 7th, A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, (called the VII.); 8th, A Letter to the Fundholders; 9th, My

third Letter to you; 10th, A Letter to Sir Francis Burdett. In these ten papers, accompanied with the official documents, all to be found in the Register, I flatter myself, that we shall *hereafter* be able to see (without hunting through volumes of verbose, stupid stuff, in one shape or another) a complete history not only in point of fact, but of argument, of the beginning of this war. These articles contain, too, the *political economy* of the question, which you and your colleagues, and even your opponents, take little or no notice of. Thus far, then, I have *made all safe*; but, before we actually enter upon the work of blood, I mean, further, to put upon record the fair substance of what has been published as the reasons for the war, stated in the *House of Commons*, during the debate *upon the question of war itself*; because, the time is to come when we shall have to refer to, and to cite, these opinions and declarations. I should, perhaps, take notice of a reported debate of the *Lords*; but, it would be but repetition. I shall now proceed, point by point, to notice the report, and particularly to put its substance upon record.

I. *Of the character of Napoleon.* "I shall be very short upon this head, *"Lions are not painters; if they were,"* said the Lion in the fable, "you would not see a man painted in the attitude of crushing a Lion." I totally disagree with all those, who drew hideous pictures of Napoleon's character; I could, even with safety, triumphantly answer what was said; but, *justice* would demand a full exhibition of the *contrast* that might be presented; and, as this cannot be made with perfect freedom, the answer ought not to be entered on. It would be the height of injustice to enter on the defence of any man without being *free* to produce *all* that can be produced in his justification; what, then, would it be to enter on such defence without being able to produce *hardly any of the main facts*, calculated to put the character of Napoleon in its true light? Let it be declared, that *truth* shall never more be a *libel*; and, then, the character of Napoleon will have its fair chance; then, and not till then, will his abusers have a right to expect, that until *contradicted*, their assertions ought to *pass for truth*. But, there are Aristocrats and Cossack Priests enough in *New England*. There are men

enough there, who assail Napoleon; or, at least, who used to do it. Now, I hereby *challenge* any one of these upon the subject. Let him, like a man, publish in the Boston federal papers the *Daily Advertiser*, a regular attack upon the character and conduct of Napoleon, embracing all parts, public and private, of that character and conduct. Let any one do this; let the paper be sent to me; and I pledge myself to *answer it*, in a Letter sent *in manuscript* to that same paper. If the assailant puts his *name*, he will act more like a man; but, I will not stand upon that point. He must take this along with him, however; that I shall not admit of any *fact* being *true*, merely upon the *assertion* of any body; and when such assertion has been *often repeated without any attempt at PROOF*, I shall always regard that circumstance as a presumptive proof of *its falshood*.—But, though I, for the reasons here stated, decline entering into what I call an *ANSWER* upon the subject of the character of Napoleon, there is a passage in the report of Mr. GRATTAN's speech that I ought to put upon record, at least.—It is this: "He had made his brother King of Holland—he had banished the Prince Regent of Portugal from his native land—he had imprisoned the King of Spain—he had raised an army of 60,000 men, which he meant to employ solely for the purpose of conferring the *same favour* on the King of England; and had the space between the two countries been wholly composed of land—*had not that channel intervened* which gave full scope to the power of the British navy, he would long ago have put his design into execution. When he conceived the wild and extravagant idea of conquering Europe, he acknowledged he must first conquer England, and complained bitterly of the power of her marine, the subversion of which he was determined to attempt by the destruction of her commerce. For the attainment of this object he put in motion all his political engines; and after subjugating the whole continent of Europe to his sway, he contrived to place you between two fires—that is, between the Continent in Europe, in which was the army of France, and another Continent in America, which was our great rival for the palm of commercial greatness, and by

“these means endeavoured to effect our utter destruction. He deluded the Emperor of Russia into a treaty with him, by which he put an end to all commercial relations between Russia and England; and because the Emperor of that vast empire did not adhere to the prohibitions which he (Bonaparte) was continually dictating, he would if he could, have driven him and his people into the frozen ocean. After having received the most signal favours from the King of Prussia, he avowed the intention of putting him out of the list of crowned heads; and after all those acts of ferocious enmity and malignant hostility, the Allies when they arrived at the gates of Paris, did an act which reflected on them the highest honour—an act which posterity should never forget—the Allies had magnanimously given to France liberty; and to Bonaparte life and the Island of Elba.”—He had made his brother King of Holland; Well? and what was that more than making his brother-in-law King of Sweden, or, at least, heir apparent to the Crown? And, Mr. Grattan ought to bear in mind, that we have confirmed that act by a solemn treaty.—I do not know that he banished the Prince Regent of Portugal, or that he imprisoned the King of Spain; but, I know very well, that he had as great right to both, as Charles V. had to imprison Francis I.—And, what if he did intend to take England, and capture the King of England? Did not a King of England once do that in France? If he did not, our historians are shocking liars.—But, my Lord, mind, Mr. Grattan says, that, if there had been no water between, Napoleon would have had our king in prison. I know, that the French used to say this; but, I always used to believe, that England could have defended itself without the aid of the water. However, since this second Burke tells us the contrary, we must not hesitate any longer. Napoleon “contrived” to place us between two fires; he contrived to bring the Americans upon us; he deluded the Emperor of Russia into a treaty hostile to our commerce, and then, because the Emperor would not adhere to the prohibitions which Napoleon was dictating, he went to war with the Emperor and his polite people.—But, my Lord, is it true, that an Emperor, our ally, can be deluded; and, more especially into a treaty; and, a

treaty, too, hostile to English commerce? I am very anxious upon this point, my Lord; because, if an Emperor really has been deluded into one treaty, it is possible that he may be deluded into another. Besides, if I mistake not, our magnanimously had had, at the time alluded to, ample opportunity of knowing Napoleon's views as well as character. It was in 1808, I believe, when Napoleon's army was in Spain and when his brother was on the throne of the country. If I do not mistake, too, the Emperor, at that time, recognized as valid what had been done in Spain. Grant that this was *delusion*, however, it is very perilous to have to do with such a man; a man, who was able to delude the two Kings of Spain to abdicate in his favour; to delude the Pope to marry him to a second wife while the first was alive; to delude the Emperor of Austria to give him his daughter in marriage; to delude Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland, to declare war against England; to delude Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, to join him in a war to invade Russia. Really, this is *delusion* upon a grand scale indeed! But, if he did so delude all these powers before, and even contrived to bring America upon us, is there not a possibility, at any rate, that he may be successful in his delusive acts again?—Mr. Grattan's reporter tells us, that Napoleon, after having “received the most signal favours from the King of Prussia, he avowed his intention “of putting him out of the list of crowned heads.” I never heard of these favours before. I knew, that, on the other side, Napoleon was twice in possession of Berlin; that the Royal Family twice fled; and that, to the infinite mortification of the Republicans all over the world, Napoleon replaced the King of Prussia in his dominions and authority. I knew, too, that a Prussian army marched with Napoleon against Russia; and that the King of Prussia issued a proclamation, severely condemning D'Yorck for his going over and leaving Napoleon. But, really, I never heard of any favours, received by Napoleon from the King of Prussia.—The allies, Mr. Grattan says, magnanimously gave Napoleon life and the island of Elba. You have denied this, several times, in the most positive terms. You have asserted, that the treaty of Fontainebleau was a treaty of policy; you have asserted, that the allies were by no

means *sure* of success by the way of arms. There was, then, no *magnanimity* here, even if we could forget how the crowned allies had been treated by Napoleon when he *really* had them in *his* power. The allies had been accused of magnanimity at Fontenbleau; the nation were bellowing very loudly about it; they began to be very much out of humour that Napoleon had not been *put out of the way completely*; when your Lordship, in justice to the allies, stepped forward and very clearly showed, that *they had by no means been guilty of any thing like magnanimity*; that they had made the best bargain that they were able to make for themselves; and, that the English nation might be satisfied, that the allies would have dealt harder by Napoleon if they had been in a situation to do it without danger to themselves.—Mr. Grattan seems very bitterly provoked, that Napoleon should have prepared 60,000 men for the invasion of England. But, does not this gentleman allow, that the French have as great a right to invade England, as the English have to invade France? We made landings at Toulon, at Quiberon; and we even *now* are, if the public papers speak truth, sending all sorts of implements for killing men; for enabling the people to shed each others blood, in the West of France. I hope that this is not true; but, while our newspapers are *boasting of this*, it is likely, that we shall excite much shame in the French nation for their having been led to make preparations for the *invasion of England?*

The other topics I reserve for my next.
—I am, &c. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE RIGHT HON. H. GRATTAN.

SIR—From the parliamentary debates, as given in the Morning Chronicle of the 26th inst. it appears that you have chosen this critical juncture to commence a course of oratory in *opposition* to those principles in the support of which you have acquired a celebrity, which, I fear, will give undue importance to your new character. Like your countryman, and predecessor in the same course, you have adopted a style in which Antithesis holds the place of argument, and metaphor of facts; a style of which deception is the essence, which aggravates on the one hand, and extenuates on the other, until the objects

you are describing present themselves to your own imagination, and to that of your hearers, in monstrous caricature. There is also a marvellous coincidence in the occasions which excited in Mr. Burke a frantic fear of liberty, and that which seems to be producing a similar abhorration in you. Here I trust the parallel will fail. The influence of his name and of a mind still powerful, had no small share in giving real existence to the horrors of his disordered fancy; and the prophecies for which he obtained so much credit, were greatly accessory to their own fulfilment. It is the recollection of that epoch which I hope may yet preserve us. *Then* we had no such example for our instruction. Europe is yet at peace, and you, Sir, are doing your part to rekindle a war, of which the dreadful experience of the last twenty-three years enables us, beforehand, to estimate the character. This is a subject for severe deliberation and not for a display of rhetoric. "Peace without security and war without allies." This Antithesis, we are told, drew forth the applause of the honorable assembly to whom you addressed your first philippic! But did you attempt to inform them, how many campaigns it may require to replace France in a situation capable of holding out the security which she *now* offers? Her limits determined and acknowledged: men of tried integrity, the friends of peace and moderation, at the head of her councils: her people, and even her army, unless indeed the late excitements have stimulated it to fury, languishing for repose. And as to our wanting allies at a future period, did you stop to say that we *purchase* them now, and that we shall speedily fail in the means of purchasing? That to obtain such allies, *subsidies* alone are needed; and that to continue even this miserable traffic in accomplices, peace is indispensable? The Government of France is, you say, a stratocracy: did you explain how it became such? and why she adopted that system of subjugation you censure so bitterly? She had to fight with Europe single handed: she *conquered* alliances whilst we *purchased* them. The General who led her to victory became, mischievously, I allow, but most naturally, her ruler. At length the tide of victory turned; the conquered allies proved faithless, as though they had been purchased; and this very General was given up, that

the people of France might escape from a state of war, of which they had good cause to be weary. We, however, gave them a king with old notions, and with the old nobility and priesthood at his heels: these proved still less tolerable than war, and they recalled their Emperor. He remembered their sacrifice of himself for peace, and knew that the promise of peace would be the pledge of their attachment. He, therefore, abjured his schemes of conquest, and submitted himself to moderate councils. Yet you would again urge, nay compel, to war that nation, headed by the same General, and with the same breath in which you detail his triumphs! He made his brother King of Holland; he called his son King of Rome: and it is Alexander *King of Poland*, Frederick William *King of Saxony*, and the immaculate cabinet of Great Britain (which appointed the *King of Belgium* by an armed force,) together with his father-in-law, the equally legitimate sovereign of half Italy; these are the *pure and honourable avengers of political morality and the faith of treaties!!!* The most unpardonable offence of Napoleon was quitting Elba, just before those *righteous* observers of treaties had fixed on the place of his final seclusion. "Voilà le congrès dessous" are words that can never be forgiven by the confederacy of Monarchs. "Imperial Europe" sickened at the sound; but it was music to the people;—to thousands in this island who would not yield, in real attachment to the Constitution, to your former professions. Napoleon takes possession of an offered throne:—This, upon your *new* scale, is "gigantic wickedness."—Assumption by force, of the government of an unwilling people, is "vice in moderation," and "has displeased you." He intended to take possession of England: he intends to take possession of Belgium: he intends to enslave Europe: on these presumptions Great Britain must be taxed to destruction; the wretched subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, must be led to slaughter;—France must be laid waste by fire and sword!—If no intelligence had reached us, you could not have believed that Louis the Desired, having administered with wisdom an excellent constitution, should not have collected even a small band of faithful adherents to grace his exit. And now that we have heard

of his silent departure, you talk of the beneficence of his *reign*; and the Constitution, agreed to, but not observed, was only not *too good* for these poor Frenchmen!—The one descends from the throne unnoticed; the other is received with acclamation. Yet in our Senate it is declared, and more wonderful, is believed, that the former was the choice, and the latter is the abhorrence of his subjects!

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

M. BIRKBECK.

Wanborough, May 29, 1815.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF CONFERENCES OF THE POWERS WHO SIGNED THE TREATY OF PARIS.

Conference of the 12th May, 1815.

The Committee appointed on 9th instant, and charged to examine, whether, after the events which have passed since the return of Napoleon Bonaparte to France, and in consequence of the documents published at Paris on the Declaration which the Powers issued against him on the 13th of March last, it would be necessary to proceed to a new Declaration, presented at the sitting of this day the following Report:—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Declaration published on the 13th of March last against Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents, by the Powers who signed the treaty of Paris, having, since his return to Paris, been discussed in various shapes by those whom he has employed for that purpose; these discussions having acquired great publicity, and a letter addressed by him to all the Sovereigns, as well as a note addressed by the Duke of Vicenza to the heads of the Cabinets of Europe, having been also published by him with the manifest intention of influencing and misleading public opinion, the Committee appointed in the sitting of the 9th inst. was charged to present a report on these topics; and considering that in the above-mentioned publications, it has been attempted to invalidate the Declaration of the 13th of March, by laying it down,—1. That that Declaration, directed against Bonaparte, at the period of his landing on the coast of France, was without application now that he had laid hold of the reins of government without open resistance, and that this fact sufficiently proving the wishes of the nation, he had not only re-entered into possession of his old rights in regard to France, but that the question even of the legitimacy of his government had ceased to be within the jurisdiction of the powers;—2. That by offering to ratify the Treaty of Paris, he removed every ground of war against

him;—The Committee has been especially charged to take into consideration—1. Whether the position of Bonaparte in regard to the Powers of Europe has changed by the fact of his arrival at Paris, and by the circumstances that accompanied the first success of his attempt on the throne of France;—Whether the offer to sanction the Treaty of Paris, of the 31st of May, 1814, can determine the Powers to adopt a system different from that which they announced in the Declaration of the 13th of March;—3. Whether it be necessary or proper to publish a new declaration to confirm or modify that of the 13th of March? The Committee having maturely examined these questions, submits to the assembly of Plenipotentiaries the following account of the result of its deliberations:—

FIRST QUESTION.

Is the position of Bonaparte in regard to the Powers of Europe altered by the first success of his enterprise, or by the events which have passed since his arrival in Paris.

The Powers, informed of the landing of Bonaparte in France, could see in him only a man who, by advancing on the French territory, with force and arms, and with the avowed project of overturning the established Government, by exciting the people and the army to revolt against their lawful Sovereign, and by usurping the title of Emperor of the French, (1) had incurred the penalties which all legislations pronounce against such outrages,—a man who, by abusing the good faith of the sovereigns, had broken a solemn treaty,—a man, in fine, who, by recalling upon France, happy and tranquil, all the scourges of internal and external war, and upon Europe, at a moment when the blessings of peace must have consoled her for her long sufferings, the sad necessity of a new general armament, was justly regarded as the implacable enemy of public welfare. Such was the origin, such were the grounds of the Declaration of the 13th of March;—a Declaration of which the justice and necessity have been universally acknowledged, and which general opinion has sanctioned. The events which

(1) The 1st Article of the Convention of the 11th of April, 1814, is as follows; "The Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all rights of sovereignty and of power, not only over the French empire and the Kingdom of Italy, but also over every other country." Notwithstanding this formal renunciation, Bonaparte in his different proclamations from the Gulf of Juan, from Gap, Grenoble and Lyons, entitled himself "by the Grace of God and the constitutions of the empire Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. See *Moniteur* of March 21, 1815.

conducted Bonaparte to Paris, and restored to him for the moment the exercise of supreme power, have, doubtless, in fact, altered the position in which he was at the period of his entering France; but these events, brought on by criminal collusion, by military conspiracies, by revolting treasons, can create no right; they are absolutely null in a legal point of view; and in order to the position of Bonaparte being essentially and legitimately altered, it would be necessary that the steps which he has taken to establish himself on the ruins of the government overturned by him, should have been confirmed by some legal title. Bonaparte lays it down in his publications, that the wishes of the French nation in favour of his re-establishment on the throne suffice to constitute this legal title. The question for the powers to examine may be stated as follows:—Can the consent, real or fictitious, explicit or tacit, of the French nation to the re-establishment of Bonaparte's power, operate a legal change in the position of the latter in regard to foreign powers, and form a title obligatory on these powers?—The Committee are of opinion that such cannot by any means be the effect of such consent; and the following are their reasons:—The Powers know too well the principles which ought to guide them in their relations with an independent country, to attempt (as it is endeavoured to accuse them) "to impose upon it laws, to interfere in its internal affairs, to prescribe to it a form of government, to give it masters according to the interests or passions of its neighbours (2). But they also know that the liberty of a nation to change its system of government must have its just limits, and that if foreign Powers have not the right to prescribe to it the exercise which it shall make of that liberty, they have at least indubitably the right of protesting against the abuse which it may make of it at their expense. Impressed with this principle, the Powers do not deem themselves authorised to impose a government on France; but they will never renounce the right of preventing the establishment in France of a focus of disorders and of subversions to other States, under the title of a Government. They will respect the liberty of France in every way in which it shall not be incompatible with their own security and the general tranquillity of Europe. In the existing case, the right of the Allied Sovereigns to interfere in the question of the internal government of France, is the more incontestible, inasmuch as the abolition of the power which now claims to

(2) It is thus that Bonaparte's Council of State express themselves in their Report on the intentions of the Powers. See *Moniteur* of the 13th of April.

be re-established there, was the fundamental condition of a treaty of peace, on which rested all the relations which, up to the return of Bonaparte to Paris, subsisted between France and the rest of Europe. On the day of their entrance into Paris, the Sovereigns declared that they would never treat of peace with Bonaparte (3). This declaration, loudly applauded by France and by Europe, produced the abdication of Napoleon and the convention of the 11th of April; it formed the principal basis of the negociation; it was explicitly pronounced in the preamble of the treaty of Paris. The French nation, even supposing it perfectly free and united, cannot withdraw itself from this fundamental condition without abrogating the treaty of Paris and all its existing relations with the European system. The allied Powers, on the other hand, by insisting on this very condition, only exercise a right which it is impossible to contest to them, unless it be maintained that the most sacred compacts can be perverted as suits the convenience of either of the contracting parties. It hence follows, that the will of the people of France is by no means sufficient to re-establish, in a legal sense, a Government proscribed by solemn engagements, which that very people entered into with all the Powers of Europe; and that they cannot, under any pretext, give validity as against these Powers to the right of recalling to the throne, him, whose exclusion was a condition preliminary to every pacific arrangement with France: the wish of the French people, even if it were fully ascertained, would not be the less null and of no effect in regard to Europe towards re-establishing a power, against which all Europe has been in a state of permanent protest from the 31st of March, 1814, up to the 13th of March, 1815; and in this view, the position of Bonaparte is precisely at this day what it was at these last mentioned periods.

SECOND QUESTION.

Should the offer to sanction the Treaty of Paris change the dispositions of the Powers?

France has had no reason to complain of the Treaty of Paris. This Treaty reconciled France with Europe; it satisfied all her true interests, secured all her real advantages, all the elements of prosperity and glory, which a people called to one of the first places in the European system could reasonably desire, and only took from her that which was to her, under the deceitful exterior of great national éclat, an inexhaustible source of sufferings, of ruin, and of misery. This Treaty was even an immense benefit for a country, reduced by the madness of its chief to the most disastrous situation (4). The Allied Powers would have betrayed their interests and their duties, if, as the price of so much moderation and generosity, they had not, on signing the treaty, obtained some solid advantage; but the sole object of their ambition was the peace of

Europe and the happiness of France. Never, in treating with Bonaparte, would they have consented to the conditions which they granted to a government, which, "while offering to Europe a pledge of security and stability, relieved them from requiring from France the guarantees which they had demanded under its former government." (5) This clause is inseparable from the treaty of Paris; to abolish it, is to break this treaty. The formal consent of the French nation to the return of Bonaparte to the throne would be equivalent to a declaration of war against Europe: for the state of peace did not exist between Europe and France, except by the treaty of Paris, and the treaty of Paris is incompatible with the power of Bonaparte. If this reasoning had need of further support, it might be found in the very offer of Bonaparte to ratify the treaty of Paris. This treaty had been scrupulously observed and executed: the transactions of the Congress of Vienna were only its supplements and developments; and without the new attempt of Bonaparte, it would have been for a long series of years one of the bases of the public right of Europe: but this order of things has given place to a new revolution; and the agents of this revolution, although they proclaim incessantly "that (6) nothing has been changed," conceive and feel themselves that all is changed around them. The question is no longer the maintenance of the treaty of Paris, but the *making of it afresh*. The Powers find themselves, with respect to France, in the condition in which they were on the 31st of March, 1814. It is not to prevent war, for France has in fact rekindled it, it is to terminate it that there now offers itself to Europe a state of things essentially different from that on which the peace of 1814 was founded. The question, then, has ceased to be a question of right: it is no more than a question of political calculation and foresight, in which the powers have only to consult the real interests of their people and the common interest of Europe. The Committee thinks it may dispense with entering here into an exposition of the considerations which, under this last view, have directed the measures of the governments. It will be sufficient to recall to notice, that the man, who, in now offering to sanction the treaty of Paris, pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a Sovereign, whose loyalty was without stain, and benevolence without measure, is the same who during 15 years ravaged and laid waste the earth, to find means of satisfying his ambition, who sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of an entire generation, to a system of conquests, whom truces, little worthy of the name of peace, have only rendered more oppressive and more odious; (7) who, after having by mad enterprises

(5) Preamble of the Treaty of Paris.

(6) This idea recurs perpetually in the report of the Council of State of Bonaparte, published in the *Moniteur*, April 13, 1815.

(7) The Committee here think it right to add the important observation, that the greater part of the invasions, and forced unions, of which Bonaparte formed successively what he called the *Great Empire*, took place during those perfidious intervals of peace, more destructive to

(3) Declaration of the 31st of March, 1814.

(4) The Emperor, convinced of the critical situation in which he has placed France, and of the impossibility of saving it himself, appeared to resign himself and consent to an entire and unconditional abdication.—Letter of Marshal Ney to the Prince of Benevent.

tired fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, was forced to abandon his projects, and abdicated power to save some relics of existence; who, at the moment when the nations of Europe were giving themselves up to the hope of a durable tranquillity, meditated new catastrophes, and by a double perfidy, towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could not attack without the blackest treason, usurped a throne which he had renounced, and which he never occupied except for the misery of France and the world. This man has no other guarantee to propose to Europe than his word. After the cruel experience of 15 years, who would have the courage to accept this guarantee? and if the French nation has really embraced his cause, who could any longer respect the security which it could offer? Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only prove a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger. No power could really disarm: nations would not only enjoy any of the advantages of a true pacification; they would be crushed by charges of all kinds; as confidence would no where revive, industry and commerce would every where languish; there would be no stability in political relations; gloomy discontent would sit brooding on every country, and at a day's notice, alarmed Europe would expect fresh explosions. The Sovereigns have certainly not mistaken the interests of their subjects, when they have thought that open war, with all its inconveniences, and all its sacrifices, preferable to such a state; and the measures which they have adopted, have met with general approbation.—The opinion of Europe on this great occasion is pronounced in a manner very positive and very solemn; never could the real sentiments of nations have been more accurately known and more faithfully interpreted than at a moment when the representatives of all the Powers were assembled to consolidate the peace of the world.

THIRD QUESTION.

Is it necessary to publish a new Declaration?

The observations which the Committee have just presented, furnish the answer to the last question which remains to be examined. It considers,—1. That the Declaration of the 13th of March was dictated to the Powers by reasons of such evident justice and such decisive weight, that

Europe than even the wars with which it was tormented. It was thus that he took possession of Piedmont, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, or the States of Rome, of Holland, of the countries composing the 32d Military Division. It was thus at a period of peace (at least with all the continent), that he struck the first blow against Portugal and Spain, and he thought to have finished the conquest of those countries by cunning and audacity, when the patriotism and energy of the people of the Peninsula drew him into a sanguinary war, the commencement of his own downfall, and of the salvation of Europe.

none of the sophistries by which it is pretended to be attacked can at all affect it:—2. That these reasons remain in all their force, and that the changes which have in fact occurred since the Declaration of the 13th of March, have produced no alteration in the position of Bonaparte and of France with regard to the Allies.—3. That the offer to ratify the Treaty of Paris cannot on any account alter the disposition of the Allies.—Therefore, the Committee is of opinion that it would be useless to publish a fresh declaration.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, and who as such are responsible for its execution with regard to the acceding Powers, having taken into consideration, and sanctioned by their approbation the preceding report, have resolved, that there shall be made to the Plenipotentiaries of the other Royal Courts a communication of the minutes of this day. They have further ordered that an extract of the said minutes shall be made public.—Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the Courts:—

AUSTRIA.—Prince METTERNICH,
Prince WESSENBERG.

SPAIN (Espagne).—P. GOMES LABRADOR.

FRANCE.—Prince TALLEYRAND,
Duke of DALBERG,
Count ALEX DE NOAILLES,

GREAT BRITAIN.—CLANCARTY,
CATHCART,
STEWART.

PORTUGAL.—The Count DE PALMELLA,
SALDANHA,
LOBO.

PRUSSIA.—Prince HARDENBERG,
Baron HUMBOLDT.

RUSSIA.—Count RASOUMOUSKY,
Count STAKELBERG,
Count NESSELPODE.

SWEDEN.—Count LOEWENHJELM.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, approving the whole of the principles contained in the present extract from the minutes, have affixed to it their signatures.

Vienna, May 12, 1815.

BAVARIA.—Count RECHBERG.

DENMARK.—C. BERNSTORFF,
I. BERNSTORFF.

HANOVER.—Count MUNSTER,
Count HARDENBURGH.

NETHERLANDS.—Baron SPAEN,
Baron GAGERN,

SARDINIA.—The Marquis de ST. MARSA,
Count ROSSI.

SAXONY.—Count SCHULEMBURG.

TWO SICILIES.—The Commander RUFFO.

WURTEMBERG.—Count WINZINGERODE,
Baron LINDEN.